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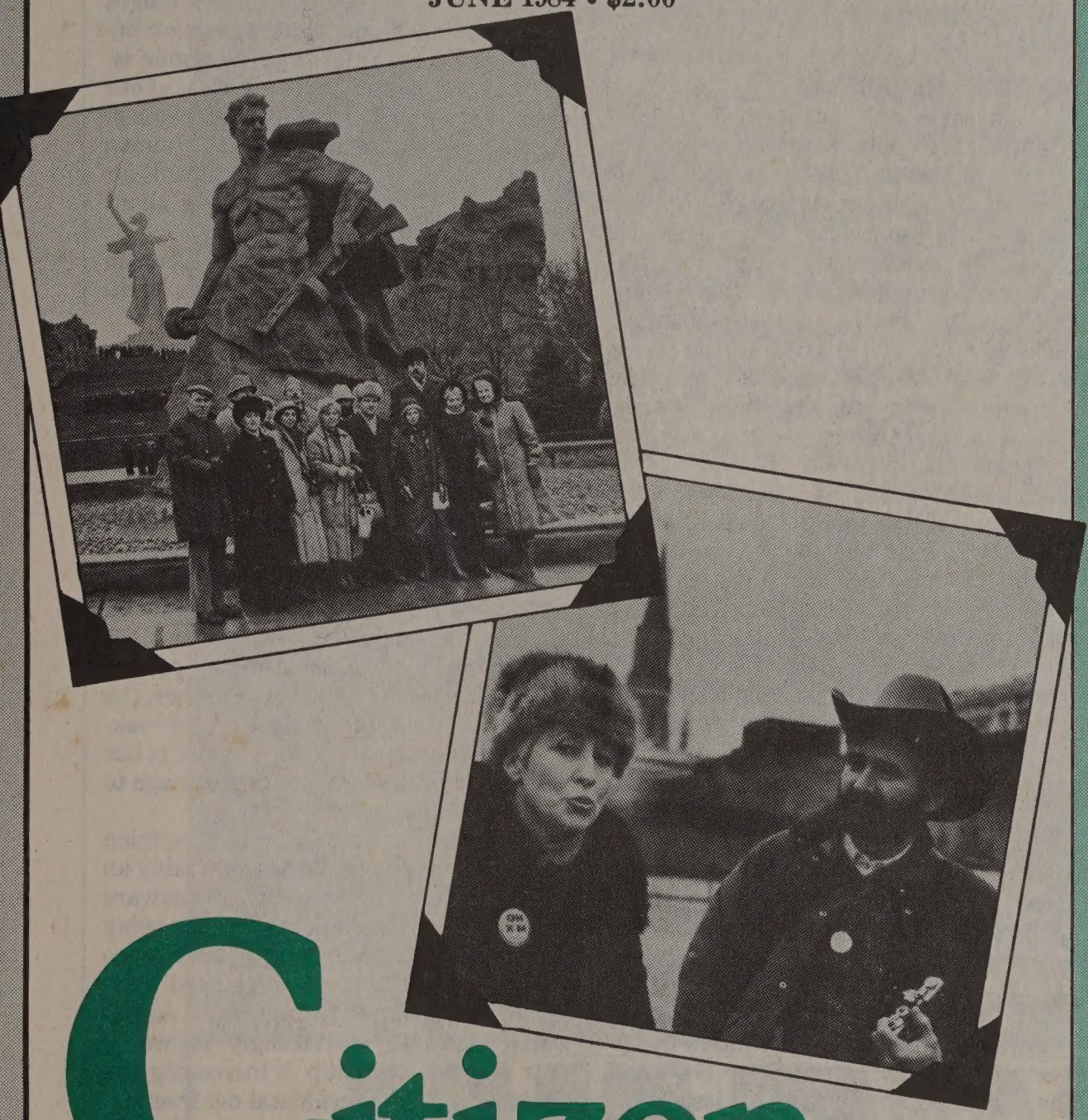

Citizen Diplomacy

One on One With the Soviets

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A Call For Unity

By Randy Kehler

"We are not, in fact, a disarmament movement," writes Randy Kehler, national coordinator of the Freeze Campaign. "We are a collection of disarmament organizations. We cannot continue working separately." In an important Forum article in this issue, Kehler urgently calls for the formation of an "unshakeable alliance" of national groups, new cooperative approaches in organizing, and a comprehensive plan for reversing the arms race. In coming months NUCLEAR TIMES will continue to address the key question raised by Kehler: "Where do we go from here?" We urge readers to respond in writing to NUCLEAR TIMES.

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CAMPAIGN REPORT '84

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- ★ *Hot Race In Oregon*
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Letters

Stop That Train

Thanks for printing the article about the white train (April '84), but I would have preferred that it be the cover story. White train actions are far, far more important—over the long pull—than whether the MX might be defeated in Congress again.

—Richard M. Bowen
Delhi, N.Y.

Speaking of Jackson

I am absolutely astonished by the "Campaign Report '84" section in your April issue. In an eight-page special report on the election campaign, there is not a single mention of Jesse Jackson, except in the 28th paragraph of a 29-paragraph article on Gary Hart. Aside from the fact that Jackson is speaking to millions of people in favor of the peace movement's issues—from stopping the Euromissiles to stopping interventionism in Central America—in a way the movement has never been able to do, this is just inept journalism. Don't you folks ever watch TV or read the dailies?

Racism, like the deity, works in strange and mysterious ways its wonders to perform. The ignoring of the Jackson candidacy can, most charitably, be termed benign neglect. A serious self-examination by your editorial board is in order.

—Michael Myerson
U.S. Peace Council
New York, N.Y.

We covered Mondale in March, Hart last month, and this issue, as planned, we look at Jackson—see page 16.—Eds.

Hart Failure

I was disappointed and puzzled by aspects of your report on Gary Hart and the movement in the April '84 issue.

The twin refusals to demilitarize the economy and to renounce first use should definitely bar both Hart and Mondale from movement support, for now. Instead, we should be lobbying them intensively to renounce first use and to forge a platform that criticizes and rejects the militarized economy. We hurt our cause by giving our support prematurely and too cheaply. I say, in the absence of a clear adoption of no-first-use and cuts in defense spending planks, we should withhold our endorsement until after the convention. Time enough then to close ranks. In the meantime, it behooves us, both for reasons of justice and for the long-term benefit of the coalitions of which disarmament activists must be a part, to compliment forthrightly the positions of Jesse Jackson on arms control and military spending.

—Eugene Narrett
Brookline, Mass.

Polls Apart

I am grateful for your article "Will Arms Issues Matter?" in the March issue. I agree with your analysis. But years of struggle for international peacemaking (I am 92 years old) have taught me that the interdependent relation between military issues and economic issues is not understood by the mass of our voting citizens. The bankrupting cost of nuclear war is a serious threat to human society. I have increasing regard for President Eisenhower's warning about the military-industrial complex.

—Chester A. Graham
Muskegon, Mich.

Your excellent article, "Will Arms Issues Matter?" by David Corn, reveals contradictions in public attitude on the nuclear arms issue. While the article covers many aspects of attitudes towards the arms race, it makes no reference to accidental nuclear war concerns. This lack occurs because most opinion surveys fail to ask questions on this possible peril. The danger of an accidental nuclear war is growing as weapons become more complex, widespread, powerful, accurate and numerous. Further, the danger is increasing as the time for making crucial decisions is decreasing. It has decreased from many hours years ago to about six minutes today.

The lack of questions in public-opinion surveys on accidental war is probably an indication of how thoroughly unaware the world is of this unobtrusive growing peril. In order to better know how to communicate this danger we need to be asking questions on it in surveys. As the public becomes increasingly aware of how the arms buildup is increasing the possibility of our accidental destruction, it could greatly affect support for the arms race.

—Dean Babst
Citrus Heights, Cal.

Note To Subscribers

Although the last issue you received (about five weeks ago) was labelled "April" and this issue is "June" you did *not* miss an issue. Because NUCLEAR TIMES is published 10 times a year, instead of monthly, we occasionally have to leap forward a month on our cover dates.

☐ When Warday finally came on October 28, 1988, it lasted just thirty-six minutes. And when it was over, much of America remained untouched—but none of it remained unchanged. The bombs had hit only eight targets, but a whole nation had been destroyed—dismembered into separate, suspicious pockets of population. ☐ Now it is five years after Warday, and two surviving American journalists—determined to find out what had happened to the rest of the United States—set out on a perilous voyage of discovery. *Warday* is the unforgettable account of their trek across the nation—the cities they visited, the people they met, and a life they found to be both better and worse than any we have been led to expect. ☐ Fascinating in its detail, heartwrenching in its humanity, *Warday* takes you into a world you couldn't imagine: To the new capital of the U.S. in Los Angeles, an area untouched by the slaughter of Warday, far distant from Washington, D.C....To Atzlan, the wild new nation forming inside America's borders...To Kansas City and Cambridge, New York and Pittsburgh and Atlanta—everywhere that men and women are struggling desperately to bring forth life out of death. After Warday

WARDAY

Whitley Strieber and James Kunetka

A FULL MAIN SELECTION OF THE BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB/ **HOLT, RINEHART & WINSTON**

Early Warnings

ALARMING STATISTICS: Why is the number of false alerts on the rise? Every year officials at the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) in Wyoming, which watches for any possible attack on the United States, hurriedly hold several hundred "missile display conferences" (MDCs) to evaluate electronic detections that could be threatening. And in recent years the number of such detections—which some analysts call false alarms—has been on a steady rise. According to Air Force figures, in 1983 there were 255 MDCs called "to evaluate possible threats," up 17 percent from 218 in 1982. Seven years ago, there were only 43 such MDCs. Why the increase? A spokesman for the Air Force maintains that changes made concerning criteria for MDCs and the introduction of new surveillance measures led to the rise.

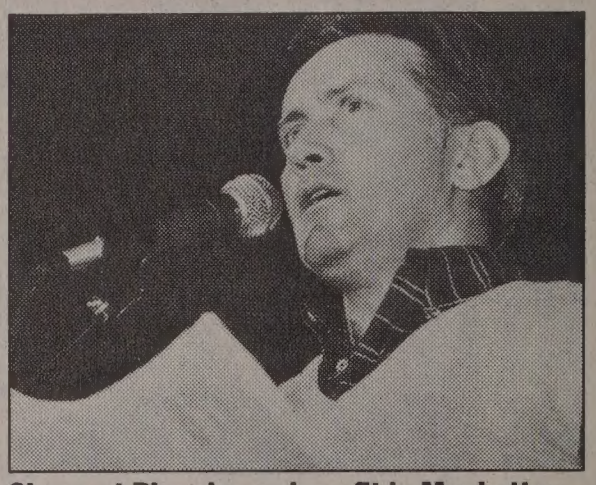
But Gary Houser, a freeze activist in Ohio, is nevertheless alarmed. "It seems that technological improvements should more successfully screen out these detections," he says. The increase in these false alerts, Hauser notes, is especially worrisome when viewed in light of the U.S. refusal to forswear a launch-on-warning policy. Together with other freeze activists in Athens, Ohio, Houser has formed the "False Alarm Project," which aims to collect and analyze all existing information regarding false alarms and accidental nuclear war.

RATHER SWITCH THAN FIGHT: Economic conversion is coming "out of the closet," says Tony Mullaney, associate director of the International Economic Conversion Conference to be held the weekend of June 22 at Boston College. The conference, cosponsored by anti-nuclear and conversion groups, as well as several unions and the Presbyterian Church, may bring together, for the first time, virtually everyone in the United States who is active on the conversion front. It will also include representatives from European countries (where conversion is more widely advocated), Brazil and Japan. What makes this gathering particularly significant, notes Gene Carroll, national labor coordinator of the Freeze Campaign, is the high level of trade union participation.

On the agenda will be Representative Nicholas Mavroules' Economic Conversion Act, recently introduced in the House. The measure calls for the Defense Department to allocate about $1 million for planning, job-retraining and cash payments to unemployed workers every time it cancels a contract worth $10 million or more. The bill, a moderate version of Representative Ted Weiss' conversion bill, has 33 cosponsors—including four Republicans—and a Mavroules aide notes that an election-year emphasis on military spending could nudge the measure into the spotlight.

ACTOR INTO ACTIVIST?: Will film star Martin Sheen ever commit civil disobedience and risk arrest to protest the arms race? "I hope so," he says. "I pray that I'll have the courage someday." For now, though, he is supporting the efforts of the religiously oriented Plowshares activists. On April 28, he appeared at a New York City benefit for the defense fund of the Griffiss Plowshares who were scheduled to go on trial three weeks later. The seven activists damaged a B-52 at Griffiss Air Force Base in upstate New York last November.

Sheen first came into contact with the Plowshares activists in 1981, when he appeared with Daniel and Philip Berrigan in the film, *In the King of Prussia*, which portrayed the first Plowshares trial. He had recently rejoined the Catholic Church as a result of the spiritual re-awakening he felt while in India making the film *Gandhi*. "There is a direct relationship between being a Christian and being involved in the social condition of the world," Sheen told NUCLEAR TIMES. "These people [the Plowshares], like Gandhi, are saying, 'We know a way out of hell—and that way is nonviolence.' As Bob Dylan said, the only thing you can really do for anyone is inspire them, and that's what they are doing."



Sheen at Plowshares benefit in Manhattan

BOOK'EM DANNO: Maui, Hawaii, the third county in the country to declare itself a nuclear free zone, has entered into a skirmish with the U.S. Navy. Under the leadership of county councilmember Velma Santos, the Maui County Council, which represents the islands of Maui, Molokai, Lani and Kahoolawe, overrode the mayor's veto and adopted two NFZ ordinances that prohibit the storage and transportation of nuclear weapons and material, the development of nuclear facilities, and the dumping of radioactive wastes. Included in the NFZ are the waters between the islands. The NFZ laws also prohibit nuclear-powered ships from entering the zone.

Pearl Harbor, the headquarters of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, is located 100 miles from the island of Maui, and nuclear-powered Navy ships that have the capacity to carry nuclear weapons often anchor in the waters off the coast of Maui for weekend shore leaves. Navy officials,

Blips

A 10-hour public television series, "**Who Are the Russians**?" (on the scale of the recent *Vietnam* series) is now being prepared in cooperation with the Harriman Institute in New York. Midge Decter of the Committee for the Free World has already attacked the outline for the show as not being anti-Soviet enough .... One highlight of the upcoming Survivalfest actions during the **Olympic Games** in Los Angeles will be a lighting of the "peace flame," brought over from Hiroshima, on August 5 .... The Department of Energy is seeking funds to prepare its **Nevada test site** for larger nuclear tests—part of a $3 billion program to expand the nation's production and testing facilities for nuclear weapons .... At **Dustin Hoffman's** suggestion, a performance of *Death of a Salesman* on Broadway on May 31 will be used to raise funds for Peter Watkins' *War Game* 2 project. Watkins will hold the first test-shoot for the film at the end of June in Utica, New York .... Following a visit by its director, Jeremy Stone, to Buenos Aires, the Federation of American Scientists has called on the arms control community to "do all it can to help prevent the **Argentina** nuclear program from blossoming out into bombs" .... Sargeant Ron Adler of the Minneapolis police force is trying to get into the *Guinness Book of World Records* for most arrests by a police officer in one day—577, during last October's protests at **Honeywell** headquarters .... In an exciting experiment an hour-long television documentary, called **Dialogue**, coproduced by The Documentary Guild in Colrain, Massachusetts, and Gosteleradio in the Soviet Union, will probably be broadcast this September on the same day in both countries. It profiles three Soviets and three Americans who meet at a conference in Siberia.

PHOTO BY STEVEN BORNS

noting that military obligations supersede the NFZ act passed by Maui, say they plan to violate the county law and continue to operate nuclear-powered ships in Maui County waters. The Maui NFZ ordinance allows the county to seek circuit court injunctions against anyone violating the nuclear bans, with the penalty of a $10,000 fine for each offense. Maui is now considering an injunction against the Navy.

HOMEPORTING: Antinuclear activists in Seattle won a mixed victory in mid-April when Navy officials decided not to base a new 15-ship aircraft carrier battle group in that city—and chose nearby Everett, Washington, instead. According to Captain James Ridge, who headed the Navy search effort, "Everett seems united behind the idea, whereas I got mixed feelings from Seattle." During the nine months of public debate about Navy plans for the homeporting—the ships will probably carry a number of nuclear-tipped cruise missiles and other nuclear-capable weapons—quickly assembled coalitions of peace and community activists in Seattle played a major role in tempering the warm welcome being extended by business groups and some government officials.

For Everett activists who oppose the basing plan, the Navy's decision was a blow. They had just gathered 3200 signatures in a petition drive to force a binding public vote on the issue in 1985 after the environmental review process. It would have also required the city government to withhold support from the Navy unless voters approved the base. But in mid-April, the day after the Navy announced its basing plans, the Everett City Council declared the citizens' effort illegal and tried to substitute a weaker, nonbinding vote to be taken before the start of the environmental review process. As opponents of the base in Everett prepare to challenge the city council decision in court, Seattle activists are regrouping to channel their expert witnesses and other resources to the Everett effort.

BIG BAN ON CAMPUS: The Nuclear Regulatory Commission is concerned that weapons-grade uranium used in university nuclear research reactors could be stolen and used in a homemade bomb. And so it has drawn up a new regulation that would, at an estimated cost of $15 million, force colleges and universities to convert their research reactors to use low-enriched uranium (LEU), which can not easily be made into weapons material. It is a little known fact that 23 schools, including the University of Missouri, Manhattan College, Texas A & M and the University of California at Los Angeles, use high-enriched uranium (HEU) in their reactors. The quantity of HEU needed for a bomb is very small, and Theodore Taylor, a physicist formerly at Los Alamos National Laboratory, has questioned whether the schools have adequate security to prevent a theft.

If adopted, the new NRC rule will prevent licensing of new reactors that use HEU, and require licensees now using HEU to propose schedules for conversion of their reactors. Though some exceptions may be allowed, Charles Kelber, deputy director of the NRC office that drafted the rule, predicts that over the next five years "nearly all university reactors will be converted to use LEU."

WOMEN AT THE TOP: "It's up to the women," said Eleanor Roosevelt in 1933, in calling for a more peaceful society. On September 12-13, in a congressional caucus room in Washington, D.C., the first National Women's Conference on Preventing Nuclear War will try to make good on this sentiment. Created by the Center for Defense Information and organized by actress Joanne Woodward and other women, the conference will bring together over 200 prominent women with expertise in defense, international relations, business, entertainment and other fields. "The goal," says conference

Woodward and Goodwin: High visability women for peace

coordinator Charolett Goodwin of CDI, "is to have a conference solely of high visibility women."

The idea of a women's conference grew out of conversations between Woodward, a CDI board member who will chair the conference, and former Admiral Gene LaRocque, who directs CDI. "My husband [Paul Newman] is so active I used to shove these things over to him," says Woodward, "but I stopped this time and said, 'It's my responsibility more than his.' " About 100 women have joined an advisory board to the conference, including Bella Abzug, Jane Alexander, Helen Caldicott, Barbara Jordan, Billie Jean King, and Gloria Steinem.

Organizers hope to draw broad media coverage to the nuclear weapons issue and the importance of women in the peace movement. During an "action

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PHOTO BY MARIO RUIZ

week" leading up to the conference, women at the grass roots will be asked to press candidates on nuclear issues and urge their congressional representatives to take the specific step of voting to cut off funds for fissionable material in the Department of Energy budget, which comes to a vote in the fall. Organizers intend to follow up with an international women's conference (with women from both NATO and Warsaw Pact countries).

PLANT SUITS: Two key rulings involving nuclear weapons facilities were handed down in April. One involved LeRoy Krumback, who handled plutonium as a glove-box operator at the Rocky Flats plant in Colorado between 1959 and 1973. Krumback, who was exposed to levels of radiation at Rocky Flats below permissible federal standards, died in 1974 of colon cancer. On April 19 the Colorado Industrial Commission, which handles workers' compensation cases, ruled that "the proximate cause" of his death was radiation exposure, and awarded his widow over $40,000. Attorneys for the claimant say that this is the first case in the country where permissible levels of radiation at a nuclear facility were held to have killed a worker.

In the other case, a court ruling set a precedent for more stringent enforcement of environmental protection at nuclear weapons facilities across the country. In mid-April the State of Tennessee (in a suit joined by the Natural Resources Defense Council and the Legal Environmental Assistance Foundation) won the right to enforce a national law, the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA), in order to lower the emission of non-nuclear, hazardous wastes from the Department of Energy's nuclear weapons facility in Oak Ridge. The district court also ordered compliance with the Clean Water Act. The DOE had cited sovereign immunity from state juristiction and national security considerations for not complying with RCRA.

The suit was based on evidence that the Y-12 facility was contaminating ground water and Clinch River tributaries with non-radioactive wastes such as cadmium, mercury and PCBs. According to Barbara Finamore, an attorney with NRDC, the lawsuit had to focus on non-nuclear pollutants because the federal government retains the right to regulate nuclear wastes. The NRDC is now looking at other nuclear weapons facilities where the RCRA could be enforced.

Items for this section were contributed by Douglas Lavin, Alex Miller, Jonathan Rabinovitz (of Nuclear Xchange*) and Leslie Reckler.*

Blue-Prints

Studies, Proposals & Brainstorms

When President Reagan announced his plans for developing a ballistic missile defense (BMD) in a speech in March 1983, he suggested that it could be the means for rendering nuclear weapons obsolete. According to the president's vision, a system of protecting cities with exotic laser weapons could be developed that would frustrate an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) attack so effectively that both superpowers would eventually give up the missiles.

After this so-called "Star Wars" speech the major question became one of feasibility. Could such a total missile defense be attained?

Last autumn two panels of **government scientists** commissioned by the president to study BMD feasibility turned in words of encouragement—at least that was the administration's interpretation. As reported in *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, an interagency group, represented by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, used the two reports to stress "the importance of showing the U.S. is determined to explore and has the competence to develop the required ballistic missile defense technologies."

Despite this apparent affirmation, **R. Jeffrey Smith**, who has written a series of excellent arms control reports for *Science* magazine, found the conclusions of the reports to be less than a "hearty endorsement." According to Smith, in an April 6 *Science* article, neither study actually supports the feasibility of developing a BMD so foolproof that it would nullify the need for offensive missiles.

Smith points to the growing division of opinion about BMD among administration technical advisers. Generally speaking, those in the White House are standing behind the plan for thoroughly reliable BMD, while those in the Pentagon are falling in with Richard DeLauer, undersecretary of defense for research and engineering, who testified before the Armed Services Committee in early March that perfect BMD was unattainable. Smith told NUCLEAR TIMES that one reason Pentagon research managers are hostile to the President's BMD initiative is that by "concentrating on goals that may not be achieveable," the current plan may hurt support for any BMD.

In March the **Union of Concerned Scientists** (UCS) fueled public doubts about the Star Wars plans when it released its BMD report, "Space-Based Missile Defense." With the technical seal of approval from strategic scientists of the stature of Nobel prize-winner Hans Bethe and Richard Garwin, the report, which is highly skeptical about "perfect" BMD, drew wide news coverage. In April panel members Henry Kendall, Richard Garwin, Carl Sagan and Admiral Noel Gaylor appeared on a nationwide teleconference out of WGBH in Boston that was carried to public television stations across the country. (The study is scheduled to be published as a book this fall, coupled with the UCS antisatellite weapon study of last year.) This was followed by a report from the **Congressional Office of Technology Assessment** that described a successful BMD system as "remote."

After widespread publicity about the technical problems of achieving total population protection with BMD, administration officials no longer stress the angle of making nuclear weapons obsolete. (Although the so-called Star Wars "czar," Lieutenant General James Abrahamson, coordinator of Reagan's BMD programs, maintains a bullish front.) Now BMD is more often portrayed as way of bolstering the U.S. deterrent—the addition of another layer of uncertainty to calculations of Soviet strategic planners.

As such, BMD is conceived as part of a mix of offensive and defensive systems. In his *Science* article, Smith points that just such a mix was expressly disavowed by the president in his March 1983 speech. "If paired with offensive systems," Reagan said, "they [BMD] can be viewed as fostering an aggressive policy, and no one wants that." But that seems to be how BMD plans are shaping up.

In his book *Arming The Heavens*, published in April, **Jack Manno** raises the possibility that "the leading proponents of space ABMs understand their scheme lacks substance. They merely find the language of defense effective rhetoric for mobilizing popular support behind their real aim—initiating an *offensive* arms race in space."

In a chapter in the Brookings Institution's recently published book, edited by Ashton Carter and David Schwartz, *Ballistic Missile Defense*, **Leon Sloss**, a national security specialist, discusses the role of BMD in a variety of strategies. In a minimal deterrence strategy, for instance, he sees no role. But when coupled with an emphasis on offensive weapons (as currently seems to be the drift in strategic planning), BMD, according to Sloss, figures squarely in the equation of a warfighting strategy. **—Corinna Gardner**

ILLUSTRATION BY TOM BLOOM

MORATORIA DRAW SUPPORT

A "Quick" End To The Arms Race?

In recent months, the idea of using moratoria to halt the nuclear arms race has blossomed, and political support for the concept has grown. A moratorium is the essence of the Freeze Campaign's new "quick freeze" legislation, and a series of moratoria is a major ingredient of Senator Alan Cranston's proposed peace plank for the Democratic Party's platform. Walter Mondale and

Cranston: An early moratorium advocate

Gary Hart have each proposed various arms moratoria, and Jesse Jackson has endorsed the quick freeze. Many activists are using support of a quick freeze as the litmus test for presidential and congressional candidates. "Here we are, three years into Ronald Reagan's term, and the arms race is worsening," says John Isaacs of the Council for a Livable World. "What might have an impact? A moratorium has the benefits of being unilateral and mutual at the same time, and it even has a useful precedent. It can be sold to the public."

The moratoria cover a wide range of weaponry—from sea-launched cruise missiles to antisatellite (ASAT) weapons to ballistic missiles. The Cranston platform and the pledges by the presidential candidates are aimed at the executive branch, while the Freeze Campaign's legislation emphasizes the role of Congress. Hart and Mondale speak of moratoria on specific aspects of the arms race, while the Cranston platform urges a comprehensive approach; the congressional quick freeze falls in between.

But they all share a basic precept: that the United States take the first step in halting the deployment or testing of a weapon system—the most verifiable aspects of weapons development—and continue the moratorium as long as the Soviets show parallel restraint.

The use of a moratorium in arms control dates back a quarter of a century. From 1958 to 1961 both superpowers adhered to an informal moratorium on nuclear testing. Then on June 10, 1963, President John Kennedy pledged the United States would not hold tests in the atmosphere unless the Soviets did so. Six weeks later, the Limited Test Ban Treaty, prohibiting atmospheric testing, was signed.

"A moratorium is a way to break a vicious cycle," says Jerome Wiesner, who was President Kennedy's science adviser and who headed the panel that drafted the Cranston peace plank. The plank proposes that a new Democratic president, in the first hour of his administration, immediately halt the testing of nuclear warheads and the testing and deployment of both strategic and theater delivery systems.

"The communication language between the United States and the Soviet Union has been destroyed," says Wiesner. "Acts are now the only meaningful communication. As the country becomes frustrated with the lack of progress in arms control and sees that negotiations move more slowly than weapons development, these acts have come to be seen more and more as a means to slow down the arms race."

The most recent embodiment of this sentiment, which is aimed at Congress instead of the president, is the Arms Race Moratorium Act—the new legislative focus of the Freeze Campaign. Introduced into Congress on May 2, with over 90 cosponsors in the House and a handful in the Senate, the measure calls for a U.S.-Soviet moratorium on the flight-testing and deployment of new ballistic missiles and ASAT weapons and the testing of nuclear warheads. Upon passage, this bill would cut off all funding for these activities if within 90 days the president does not invite the Soviets to join in such a moratorium *and* if within that period the Soviets send a signal to Congress, indicating they would indeed enter into a moratorium. Congress would use its power of the purse to try to enact a moratorium directly with the Soviets.

This is quite a step past the last freeze resolution (which passed in the House and failed in the Senate), when members of Congress called for the president merely to try to negotiate a freeze. To vote for this new measure, a member would have to be willing to stop funding much of the arms race.

A Congressional moratorium is a new concept that will not be quickly accepted on the Hill. In fact, freeze and arms control lobbyists are not pressing for a vote on the measure right away.

Though there was some debate among arms control lobbyists over specific provisions of the bill, such as the 90-day waiting period, now that the measure is in final form, they are rallying behind it. The bill, though, does not include the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles. The Freeze Campaign reluctantly decided to exclude these missiles after congres-

Wrap-Up

In an unexpected move, Representative **Edward Markey** withdrew from the Massachusetts Senate race on May 1 .... Six more communities, including the island of Nantucket, voted to become **nuclear free zones**, raising the U.S. total to 48. NFZ bills have been introduced in the state legislatures of Alaska, Oregon, and Wisconsin, and campaigns are underway in 86 localities, including Tucson, San Diego, Ann Arbor, Minneapolis, New York City and Key West .... A federal district judge has ruled that the government must disclose the names and addresses of some 30,000 service personnel who participated in **nuclear weapons tests** from 1945 to 1963. The National Association of Atomic Veterans sought the names to conduct studies .... In the ninth **Plowshares** action, carried out on Easter Sunday, eight activists entered the Martin Marietta plant in Orlando, Florida, hammered on Pershing 2 components, and remained in the area for more than an hour before being discovered. Charged with felony criminal mischief, burglary and possession of burglar's tools, they were held on $100,000 bail .... Nuclear resisters in seven states have formed the **Midwest Resistence Network**, based in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, to map out regional actions .... Several leading arms control groups have joined the new **National Campaign to Save the ABM Treaty**, headed by the man who negotiated that treaty, Gerard Smith.

PHOTO BY STEVEN BORNS

sional allies said that such a provision would undermine any chance of winning wide support.

Some freeze supporters on the Hill have expressed doubts about the measure on other grounds. When the bill was introduced in the House, Representative Thomas Downey, a stalwart freeze ally, had not yet signed on. Speaking at a Democratic Party platform committee hearing in April, Downey said he was afraid the Soviets would not respond to a moratorium, "due to Reagan's poisoning of the international atmosphere." If this occurred, Downey believes, "the freeze movement would be wiped out."

Another concern has been how this bill fits into the traditional (and recently heightened) tension between the executive branch and the legislative branch over authority in foreign affairs. "Congress does not and should not have the ability to establish foreign policy," maintains Paul Warnke, the chief SALT II negotiator. "Congress is not set up to negotiate with a foreign government." To depend on the Soviets to send a signal to Congress and then have Congress act on it, Warnke told NUCLEAR TIMES, creates a "mischievous precedent." He adds that a moratorium can only be successful as a prelude to a treaty, not as a substitute for arms control. William Kincade, executive director of the Arms Control Association, agrees. "If a Democrat is elected," he says, "a moratorium will be a quick way to turn off several programs while a new basis for negotiation is established."

Christopher Paine of Physicians for Social Responsibility, one of the architects of the freeze measure, admits that the bill does ask Congress to expand its role in the area of U.S.-Soviet relations. "It has to do so in calling for real action," he says. Jeremy Stone, director of the Federation of American Scientists, explains that this bill is somewhat predicated on a Reagan reelection, and that "Congress will only adopt this approach if it sees there is no chance of getting arms control from Reagan."

The president could perhaps circumvent the measure, if it is ever adopted. But Chaplain Morrison, legislative coordinator of the Freeze Campaign, notes: "I would rather have the law made and then be able to confront a president who is perverting the law, then give up at the start."

The moratorium idea has been percolating in the Freeze Campaign for the past two years. Now it has moved to the forefront of the Campaign's strategy and spread into the presidential campaign. More than just words, a moratorium would be an act, one that could go a long way toward achieving substantial and meaningful arms control. **—David Corn**

Notes From Abroad

The Nuclear North

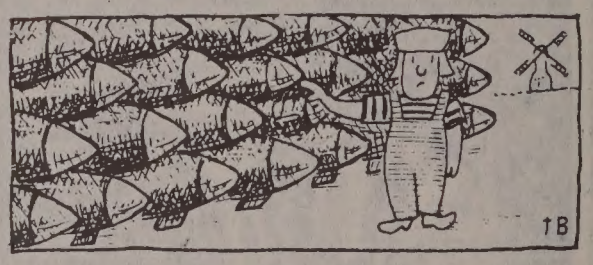
The Reagan administration's new forward strategy in the North Atlantic aims, in the event of war, to bottle up and destroy Soviet naval and air forces as close as possible to their home bases before they reach missile launch range. Presented as a response to improved submarine-launched ballistic missiles deployed by the Soviets in recent years in the region, this new strategy replaces the defensive tactic of intercepting Soviet vessels as they advance into Atlantic waters. Its immediate effect is the militarization not only of Staten Island, New York (where a new nuclear-armed Surface Action Group will be based), but of Iceland, Scotland, Greenland, Norway and other countries with North Atlantic coastlines.

Peace activists from many of those countries are building a network to exchange information and bring their concerns into the mainstream of the peace movement. The second Conference for a Nuclear Free North Atlantic will be held in Reykjavik, Iceland, in August. It will bring together activists from Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Ireland, the Faroe Islands, and Canada (as well as the countries already mentioned) and, for the first time, the United States.

In **Iceland**, which joined NATO in 1949 on condition that military forces would never set foot in the country in peacetime, the Pentagon is planning a major expansion of its military facilities and operations. The most significant development is the proposed upgrading of the U.S. Navy base at Keflavik to a "semi-hardened" (reinforced against missile attack) center for "full wartime operations"—a North Atlantic nuclear command center. The Icelandic peace movement, which has been opposing the American presence in Iceland since the 1950s, led a demonstration of more than 10,000 people on Hiroshima day last year —an impressive turnout for a country whose population is only 234,000.

In **Scotland**, demonstrations were held at 10 bases and military facilities in April. Two of the activists' major targets were the NATO airbase at Stornoway, which is currently being expanded, and the nuclear submarine base at Holy Loch, where Britain's new Trident missiles are to be deployed. Scottish activists have always been at the forefront of Britain's anti-Trident campaign; last November, workers at the Rolls Royce plant in Hillington, Scotland, forced the management to refuse a $30 million contract to build parts for the new missiles—a first for union peace organizing anywhere.

• When the Dutch parliament votes in June on whether to accept the 48 cruise missiles scheduled for deployment in the **Netherlands** it could well become the first government to say no to the missiles. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger visited the Netherlands this spring to work out a compromise that would push cruise through, but the governing Christian Democratic party is deeply split on the issue. The defense ministry is against carrying out the deployment as planned, and latest polls show that 63 percent of the public oppose the cruise as well. Dutch peace groups held national actions in early May, including a 15-minute work



stoppage planned by Holland's largest trade union federation. Americans are being asked to help by writing to Dutch parliamentarians urging a "no" vote. If Holland rejects cruise, the ripples could rock other European countries.

• Organizers of Easter demonstrations in **West Germany** estimated the turnout around the country at 600,000, though police figures were much lower. Human chains of between 10,000 and 20,000 people formed in three cities. Over 80,000 marched in Copenhagen, the biggest demonstration ever in that city.

• The eviction of women peace campers from **Greenham Common** in Britain was presented in several American newspapers as proof that all resistance has crumbled. But the Greenham women are, in their own words, "rooflessly determined." Faced with police officers brandishing eviction notices and water hoses, the women have dispersed around the base's perimeter, so that as one camp is evicted, another pops up farther on. Some women have responded to demands to remove their camping equipment by spreading out tablecloths and turning the camp into an unevictable "peace picnic." Meanwhile the base personnel have only been able to hold two abbreviated maneuvers with the missiles, scheduled between midnight and 4 a.m.

• Olga Medvedkova, the **Moscow** peace activist arrested last December for allegedly resisting an officer was convicted and given a suspended sentence of two-and-a-half years in a labor camp.

—Maria Margaronis

ILLUSTRATION BY TOM BLOOM

BY RANDY KEHLER

We Need A Common Voice

We who make up today's resurgent disarmament movement, loosely defined, have scarcely begun to realize the incredible potential that we have for stopping the nuclear arms race—really stopping it, between both superpowers and eventually among the other nuclear nations.

Realizing the potential that we have, however, is going to require a far greater level of unity and collaboration than perhaps we have ever thought about. I have this growing sense that we cannot continue working separately, each within our own institution or organization.

We are *not*, in fact, a disarmament movement. We are a collection of disarmament organizations (or organizations whose programs include major nuclear disarmament components). It is true that there are generally good relations among us. It is also true that many of us have participated in collaborative projects on a sporadic basis, not to mention some important ongoing communication mechanisms.

Nevertheless, most of us operate most of the time within separate organizational frameworks. The result is that funders, the media, most politicians, and the public tend to see us, at best, as fragmented and uncoordinated, and at worst, as competitive and self-serving. I am increasingly convinced that we cannot continue this way.

I am not suggesting that we disband all of our separate organizations or nuclear disarmament programs and form one "super organization." I am quite sure that such a plan would never work, not to mention that it runs hard against my decentralist grain. We do still need a healthy diversity of viewpoints, styles, tactics, and strategies. And I am not sure what more "collaboration" and less "institutocentricity" means in any kind of specific way. I have some hunches, but these are the kinds of things we all need to talk about together.

One hunch, for example, is that we need a comprehensive plan for stopping *and reversing* the nuclear arms race, a plan that not only shows the strategy by which we intend to do this, but a plan that also shows how the efforts of particular organizations fit coherently and cohesively into the overall picture.

If we see congressional elections as a critical element in our comprehensive

strategy, for example, what does that mean in terms of various field organizing efforts? If we have a pro-freeze president in 1985, what will be the most effective methods, locally and nationally, for assuring that he really follows through? What groundwork needs to be laid for electoral work in '86 and '88? If the regular institutional channels (legislative and electoral) fail to respond to the nuclear peril, how do we expand the role of citizen protests and nonviolent direct action?

In addition, I would like to see us think about ways to address grass-roots and disarmament workers, the media, Congress, the funding community, and the direct-mail audience in a unified way on some level.

Can you imagine the message it would send to the public-at-large if all or most of the disarmament groups in this country really got their act together and began acting in a coordinated, coherent fashion? Not only would *we* be taken more seriously, but "the problem" would be taken more seriously. In fact, it might begin to get the seriousness it requires if life on this fragile planet is going to continue.

FREEZE FAULTS

When I first got involved in setting up the National Freeze Campaign, it was my hope and expectation that the freeze would become a kind of "orchestra" made up of a large and broad spectrum of organizations, all working in harmony to produce a rich, magnificent, and beautifully powerful "sound." To some extent, this *has* happened and, in a sense, beyond my original expectations. That is to say, at key moments—for example, when Kennedy and Hatfield first introduced the freeze resolution in Congress, and later when the House of Representatives debated and voted on that resolution—there was a strong collaborative effort on behalf of the freeze proposal. But in between those moments, and since the last one, it seems to me that the disarmament movement settled back into organizational business-as-usual.

The Freeze Campaign bears a great deal of responsibility for this. Rather than vigorously pursuing the creation of a solid freeze coalition of national organizations, in which all of us were united behind the top arms control priority of a bilateral halt to the nuclear arms race, we have directed our attention primarily to the necessary work of encouraging, coordinating, and facilitating the rapidly growing network of local freeze groups around the country.

The National Freeze Campaign is indeed a strange beast. It began primarily as a coalition of national organizations, and now has become primarily an organization unto itself made up of local, regional, and state freeze groups. This situation must change. The Campaign should never divorce itself from or become less dependent on its local base of support; the U.S. government will never be serious about stopping the nuclear arms race until there is a massive grass-roots mobilization all across our country. But the essential complement of an aroused citizenry must be a clear, visible, unshakeable alliance among national organizations.

We in the Freeze Campaign could and should have done more to make this coalition, or alliance, a functioning reality. But for various reasons, we concentrated our energies elsewhere.

Coupled with lack of attention to national coalition-building on our part, was the partial inadequacy of our national strategy. Others in the disarmament community were critical, and rightly so, of a strategy that placed so much emphasis on what was, in effect, a nonbinding resolution which, even had it passed, would have been easily thwarted by an intransigent administration. One of the results of not having a truly functional national coalition was our inability

ILLUSTRATION BY ROBERT NEUBECKER

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to consult more closely with regard to possible changes in strategy.

While we in the Freeze Campaign were trying to figure out what we were and what our strategy should be, other disarmament organizations tended to slide off the mark (except during the key "moments") in two ways. First, instead of doing what they could to participate more fully in the National Freeze Campaign and all its activities and deliberations (or at least raise a stink about the difficulty of doing that), their own institutional needs led them to regard the Freeze Campaign, explicitly or implicitly, as just another disarmament organization—and, in certain areas such as direct mail, foundation solicitation, media and field work, as a "friendly" competitor.

Second, and far more important, it seemed that many disarmament groups tended to forget the meaning of the freeze itself as an arms control objective. As each organization in its own way responded to horror stories coming out of the Reagan administration, many lost sight of the overall, compelling requirement that the nuclear arms race as a whole be stopped. In part due to each organization's need to carve out its own niche in the disarmament field, it seemed as though they forgot that "the freeze" was not just a neat slogan that happened to arouse a lot of people but was (and is, in fact) a viable and essential arms control proposal, a proposal synonymous with stopping the nuclear arms race—which, after all, is what all of us have been talking about.

SURRENDERING EGO

But, of course, this is all hindsight. We called them as we saw them (or didn't see them) at the time, as best we could. The point is, where do we go from here?

Before we can go forward, however, two questions jump out. Does everyone, in fact, really agree that the achievement of a U.S.-Soviet freeze, as an essential first step toward nuclear disarmament, is or should be the number-one arms control objective for the disarmament movement as a whole? And, if the answer is yes, is the Freeze Campaign, in its present or some revised form, the appropriate vehicle or framework with which to coordinate freeze work?

I myself feel certain that the answer to the first question must be a resounding "Yes!" (What other objective is large enough to be worthwhile, modest enough to be achieveable, and clear and dramatic enough to arouse the necessary public support?) And I feel reasonably certain that the answer to the second question is also "Yes." But in both cases there may be good arguments to the contrary. If there are, I and others in the Freeze Campaign need to hear them.

The real point is not what particular objective or form our collaboration assumes. The *collaboration* itself is the point. We simply have to get our collective act together far more than we have. And that probably means laying all our institutional cards on the table. Which in turn means being willing to surrender our institutional egos for the sake of something far, far more important.

For starters, all of us together should simply try to imagine what kinds of increased collaboration might be possible. Here is my own list:

- A comprehensive plan for stopping and reversing the nuclear arms race.
- Cooperative approaches to funders, based on our "plan."
- More integrated field strategies, a more focused unified lobbying effort in Washington, D.C., and coordinated approaches to national and local media.
- Some, at least minimal, organizational framework within which we can all work, and through which we can speak to the world as one voice or chorus of voices, but which also allows each of us to retain our separate organizational identities to whatever extent is appropriate.

If we should succeed in taking some significant steps in any of these areas, I think we would be a far stronger disarmament movement for it. It would be our way of saying to the world, "Guess what? We care more about stopping and reversing the nuclear arms race than we care about our own institutional turf." I am convinced it would also usher in a whole new level of effort and commitment. It might even constitute the extra weight that finally tips the scales in our favor for the first time.

My own timeline for this imagining/discussing process is from now through the November elections. Anything significant we might come up with will surely take some time to put into place, and in the meantime we do have our work (the nationwide public referendum coming up November 6) cut out for us. This is a perfect time to start thinking about next steps. I know that to some these ideas will sound totally unworkable and thus unthinkable. But stopping and reversing the arms race, to others, seems equally unthinkable. This is what I call rising to the occasion. □

Randy Kehler is national coordinator of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. This article is a revised version of a memorandum Kehler circulated among leaders of several groups. We urge you to respond in writing to NUCLEAR TIMES.

U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

Citizens Back Detente From Below

Russia. Land of burly, vodka-guzzling men and long-suffering women. Of heartless KGB operatives and mindlessly patriotic schoolchildren. . . .

"We are all drowning in clichés and stereotypes," says Alexander Sakharov, who, until renouncing his Soviet citizenship three years ago,was a Washington-watcher for the Soviets at the Institute of USA-Canadian Studies. Now he studies U.S.-Soviet relations in Berkeley at Peace and Common Security (PACS), which sponsors an ongoing project on nuclear crisis risk reduction. "Soviets think that America is dominated by military-industrial war mongers," Sakharov says, "Americans have a grotesque picture of Russia. When people talk about evil empires and evil people, this is dehumanizing. When they talk about the evilness of the system, it is the same. After all, people made the system.

"You cannot love an adversary, but you cannot hate a partner. Our long-term interests are the same. That's where the activity should be."

Increasingly that's where the activity is. After months of asking "What About the Russians?" in films, booklets and at conferences, antinuclear groups are starting to institute ongoing Soviet programs. Exchange groups are expanding their efforts. And Soviet studies in academia are growing. As official relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have soured and arms talks have broken off, citizen diplomacy—or "track-two" negotiation between the superpowers—has flourished.

An impressive new newsletter, "Surviving Together," published by the Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL) and the Institute for Soviet American Relations (ISAR), chronicles this area of growing activity. Every issue reports on dozens of organizations that are "reweaving the torn fabric of Soviet-American relations."

But while these citizen efforts to establish what E.P. Thompson has called "detente from below" are laudable, can they really accomplish much in the absence of a thaw at the top?

Member of Bridges for Peace shows family pictures to Soviets in Volgograd

BEING THERE

Organizations that foster face-to-face meetings between people on the street—Main Street and Lenin Prospect—are growing in number and in scope. Groups as diverse as Ranchers for Peace, Athletes United for Peace, and International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War have hosted or visited their Soviet counterparts. Religious groups, including the National Council of Churches and the Baptist Church, are increasingly active in exchanges. Physicians for Social Responsibility will be sending its first large group—45 members—to a total of seven Soviet cities this June. The Federation of American Scientists, in addition to its own exchanges, now presses members of Congress to visit the Soviet Union (only about 125 representatives and 52 senators have done so).

The involvement of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) in exchanges, according to executive director Richard Deats, grows out of concern "that there is so much fear and paranoia and exaggerated feeling about the Soviets that disarmament will be impossible." Working closely with groups such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, FOR organizes visits with the goal of building a "constituency of people who have been there," Deats explains.

But not everyone committed to humanizing relations with the Soviets can hop a plane for Moscow. As a result, much of the activity in this field is aimed at those who cannot go.

Sister Cities International has established links between Seattle, Houston, Oakland, Jacksonville, Baltimore and Detroit and six Soviet cities. Through the Pairing Project, an Oregon-based spin-off of Ground Zero, Americans from more than 1200 communities have sent detailed descriptions of their hometowns to people across the Soviet Union. Only four of the communities have received responses, but the Soviet Friendship Society in Moscow has heard from at least 89 communities interested in taking part. This indicates that most of the towns are clearing their responses with Soviet officials first, according to Earl Molander, director of the Pairing Project. Next year, with the Project's help, residents from some of the American communities may visit their "twin" towns in the Soviet Union.

To educate other people who haven't "been there," FOR is fostering more human images of the Soviets through a classroom-to-classroom swap of essays and art, and a poster series depicting what Daniel Berrigan has called "forbidden faces"—portraits of Soviet citizens who are neither commissars nor soldiers.

Other stay-at-homes have pioneered the application of satellite technology to bring Soviets and Americans closer together. Nancy Graham of ISAR, which is coordinating activities among groups ac-

PHOTO COURTESY OF NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY

tive in satellite communication, calls these efforts some of the most promising in the track-two arena because of their potential for reaching large audiences in both countries. Several simulcasts have taken place, but received little media coverage. The Esalen Soviet-American Exchange program was instrumental in bringing together a Soviet rock group in a Moscow studio and American musicians in Los Angeles for a split-screen jam session as part of the US Festival last year. Other simulcasts included a children's film festival and a discussion among Soviet and American scientists last November of the biological consequences of nuclear war. The new Town Meeting of the Planet (TOP) project, based in New York, proposes to bring citizens from abroad to Lawrence, Kansas, to discuss the nuclear threat; thousands of others around the world would take part through a closed-circuit satellite hookup.

NEW YORK-ON-VOLGA

Track-two initiatives in the midst of chilly official relations are not a new phenomenon.

It was 22 years ago that Dan James, then an advertising executive, drafted a plan by which Americans, including relatives of lawmakers, would take up residence for a time in the Soviet Union, and Soviets would live temporarily in the United States. The arrangement was conceived as one possible deterrent to nuclear war.

James called it the Hostages for Peace plan. It attracted some press, but the hostage concept proved too threatening to achieve much popularity. It has been revived in another form in California, where Assemblyman John Vasconcellos has proposed a "Soldiers for Peace" program, involving the exchange of 100,000 Americans and 100,000 Soviets.

James' Peace Hostage Foundation became the Citizen Exchange Corps (CEC), and began sending groups of Americans from all walks of life to meet with their Soviet counterparts. (James has left CEC and is now working on the TOP project.)

Ten years ago, there were few organizations in this field. The American Friends Service Committee was one. People to People International was organizing goodwill tours to the Soviet Union. The International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) was operating its program for scholars and professionals, as it does today.

But it was difficult to spark interest in private initiatives in Soviet-American relations, and it was not easy to raise money. Many urged leaving diplomacy to the diplomats. There were threats from extremist organizations, visits from the FBI, and many weeks without paychecks.

Today such harassment is almost nonexistent, according to leaders of several groups. And Michael Brainerd, who directs CEC (now known as the Citizen Exchange Council), says that "the U.S.S.R. is more accessible to foreigners than ever, and more forthcoming about offering programs with real content." He points out that official cultural exchanges, such as those sponsored by the United States Information Agency, and trade group visits have declined over the last decade, while private, citizen groups have become more active. "They've stepped into the gap," Brainerd says. "Imagine what relations would be like without this."

CEC has more than a dozen exchange visits scheduled in 1984. While CEC is the largest organization of its kind, it shares the field with many other groups, such as Bridges for Peace, Promoting Enduring Peace, the Esalen Soviet-American Exchange, and USA-USSR Citizens' Dialogue.

Professional groups have gotten into the act as well. After an unusually productive exchange, members of the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control (LANAC) and the Association of Soviet Lawyers recently composed three detailed working papers and a joint statement calling for "the preservation, strengthening and development of the existing legal basis of U.S.-Soviet relations."

Benina Berger, a family therapist from the San Francisco area who traveled to the Soviet Union last September with a delegation from the Association of Humanistic Psychology, saw the trip as a way to begin to grasp "the feelings, thoughts, and intuitions of the Soviet people, not just their similarities with Americans." Through official and unofficial meetings with Soviet psychologists, and with people on the streets and in shops and restaurants, she believes they made a step in the direction of breaking down "the enemy concept, which is based on a lack of knowledge."

One professional from the arms control community who recently returned from the Soviet Union says that until her visit she thought exchanges were "nice" but basically "a waste of time." Now she says she sees "the intrinsic value in getting-to-know-you. I learned something I didn't know: that the fear and distrust of the Soviet Union expressed here are exactly mirrored there. Like people here, they interpret the *rhetoric* of leaders as *policy*."

POLITICS AND PROPAGANDA

Clearly, Soviets and Americans are getting together, at least on the citizen level. About 40,000 Americans traveled to the Soviet Union in 1983—many fewer than in the mid-seventies, when tourism (and detente) peaked, but far exceeding the 13,000 who went in 1980, in the aftermath of Afghanistan. And about 8000 Soviets per year have been coming to the United States.

But what are they talking about? Thinking back to my own experience with citizen exchange groups, I recall acting as an interpreter for many warm, spontaneous conversations between Americans and Soviets in informal and formal settings. But I also remember some gruesome meetings with local official peace committees and friendship societies, where practiced American-greeters sometimes put our tourists on the defensive with well-rehearsed challenges, and where Americans let our hosts know that they didn't believe a word they were hearing.

Alexander Sakharov believes that "peace missions" may have less impact than visits that stress professional exchange. "Discussions of the nuclear threat cannot break the wall between the two cultures," he argues. In fact, he adds, the Soviet Union uses the threat to justify further stiffening of the system. "Americans have the mistaken impression," he

Resources

- Space limitations prohibit a complete listing, with contacts and addresses, of all the worthy U.S.-Soviet exchange programs and other "track-two" projects. However, a near-complete guide, *Handbook of Organizations Involved in Soviet-American Relations*, is available for $15 from the Institute for Soviet-American Relations, 2738 McKinley Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20015 (202) 244-4725. Available from the same address is the newsletter "Surviving Together," published by ISAR and FCNL, which provides an excellent introduction to current projects across the spectrum of citizen diplomacy activities. And ISAR is putting together a handbook, available in June, for American groups who want to invite, sponsor or host Soviet visitors.
- The Pairing Project can be reached at PO Box 19049, Portland, OR (503) 245-3519.
- The Fellowship of Reconciliation's excellent "Directory of Initiatives for US-USSR Reconciliation" ($1) is available from FOR, PO Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960.

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says, "that if the Soviets knew more about war, they would be better, act better. But the Soviets already know more about war."

How can citizen groups improve the dialogue? Better coordination among the dozens of groups involved in Soviet-American exchanges might help. Several leaders of these groups say they welcome more contact, but others (off-the-record) say they are reluctant to join forces because of the pro-Soviet leanings of some purportedly "apolitical" groups.

But the sheer number of initiatives may baffle the Soviets. "There is a tendency on the part of Americans to create 5000 peace projects," comments Clinton Gardner of Bridges for Peace, "each ready to save the world, each one a power center: town twinning, satellite communications, exchange visits. . . . Over there they're amused and delighted, but they can't absorb it all."

Is citizen diplomacy getting anywhere? In the short run, not far enough. Certainly face-to-face contact makes a difference, but in the absence of massive exchanges, the number of Americans and Soviets who trade places remains too small to have an immediate, significant effect. In this sense, satellite linking—affording exposure to the diversity of each other's culture — is potentially a more powerful tool.

But in the long run, activists say, there *is* hope. "The issue is educational," says Ground Zero's Theo Brown, who believes that a more human view of the Soviets will ultimately move officials towards warmer ties. A recent report commissioned by the W. Alton Jones and Kettering foundations concluded that new media and educational projects were badly needed "if we are to go beyond the 'gee whiz, they're people just like us' phase to a more realistic understanding of the enormous differences in culture and values between our two countries."

Grant Pendill, assistant director of the American Committee for East-West Accord, has been involved in Soviet-American exchanges since Arms of Friendship in 1957. He calls citizen diplomacy "a long, slow process, an investment in the future, not a means towards rapid change." Of the hundreds of Soviets he has introduced to Americans over three decades, a great many belong to the generation that is only now moving into positions of power in the Soviet Union. If contact with the adversary does indeed translate into saner policy, this investment may soon begin to pay off.

—Rima Shore

Rima Shore led many Citizen Exchange Corps tours to the Soviet Union in the 1970s. She is writing a novel set in Brooklyn and Moscow.

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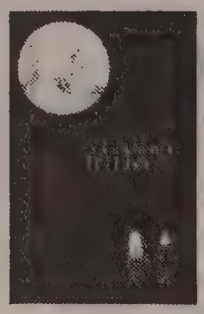

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Ideas That Work

Call them human chains, peace links or chains of life—they're forming increasingly often. Multi-mile human chains flourished in West Germany and other European countries during this year's Easter demonstrations. An estimated 17,000 people joined hands around the Rocky Flats nuclear facility in Colorado last fall. More than 1000 participants created a 9000-foot chain through downtown Pittsburgh last August. And now, in generally smaller but systematic efforts, activists in seven states have adopted the formation of human chains as their official Freeze Friday activity.

What's the attraction? "Not only is the human chain symbolic of unity, it's highly visible," says Carolyn Bninski, executive director of the West Side Action Nuclear Freeze Campaign in New York City. "And it's something that people can join in without making a major effort."

PHOTO BY MARY NEUSTADTER

According to Bninski, the human chain offers a "hands-on" outreach opportunity, since participants can wear signs, pass out fliers, and talk to curious passersby who sometimes decide to join in the chain. And the media loves them. Bninski suggests the participation of local celebrities or politicians to draw media attention and add to the fun. Bninski can be reached at 165 West 86th Street, New York, NY 10024.

* * *

When the 10,000 attendees arrive in New Orleans in late June for the American Nurses' Association's (ANA) 55th national convention, they will be met with a rather unconventional opportunity: for the first time in ANA history, they will be able to participate in a program on nuclear issues.

The two-hour presentation, called *Meeting the Challenge of the Nuclear Age: The Nurses' Role*, was put together by members of the Nurses' Environmental Health Watch (NEHW), based in Nassawadox, Virginia. It will concentrate on the history of the arms race, its psychological ramifications, and what nurses can do now to help. "We are not going to wait for the bomb to drop before we start to use our skills," says Diane Mancino, president of NEHW. "We don't believe that you can plan for a nuclear war. But we can help nurses identify certain types of depression and anxiety that are becoming part of our everyday lives."

Just how what Mancino terms the "fairly" conservative ANA chose an antinuclear program offers a lesson to those who wonder if mainstream groups are merely dealing in symbolic gestures when they formally adopt antinuclear or peace resolutions. "Two years ago, after a long debate, the ANA passed a prodisarmament resolution," says Mancino. "And if that resolution hadn't passed then, you can be sure we wouldn't be offering our program now." For more information about NEHW's program, write to PO Box 811, Nassawadox, Virginia 23413.

* * *

Do you crave more peace in your television diet? If so, you'll be heartened to know that PAND (Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament) Atlanta has cooked up some fare that is edifying, entertaining, *and* antinuclear. It's a 13-part video series called "PANDora's Box," spotlighting Atlanta's disarmament community and featuring displays of PAND talent.

A public access coordinator for Atlanta's cable system sparked the project in January 1983, and subsequently 10 PAND members were trained in production skills ranging from camera operation to editing. The series was so well-received that it not only won a CABER Award (from Cable Atlanta Inc. Center for Community TV) for 1983's best variety program, it also moved the city's Office of Communications to award the group a $1500 grant, with which they promptly produced 12 more shows. The new series, called "Runners in the Race," documents notable disarmament events, such as a Jobs with Peace Walkathon that raised $10,000.

PAND members Bill and Marcy Fleming encourage groups elsewhere to hook up with local cable television stations, which are often required to present public service programs. Not only may your message reach many more people than if you were to stage a street show, but the process of creating a video series can be an energizing and motivating experience for everyone involved. If you'd like an index of every PAND Atlanta show write to the group at 750 Kalb Avenue, S.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30312. Dupes are available for the cost of the tape.

—Renata Rizzo

CAMPAIGN REPORT '84

A special section covering campaign-related educational activities

Sights set on conventions

Activists Vie For Delegate Slots

Paul Zimmerman is a delegate to the Republican National Convention and a freeze activist. The two, he says, are not mutually exclusive. But he is banking on the apparent incongruity to win him some publicity at the convention in Dallas in August and to allow him and other pro-freeze Republicans to raise the issue before a national audience.

Zimmerman, a former movie critic for *Newsweek* and author of the screenplay for Martin Scorcese's *The King of Comedy*, is only one of the thousands of activists who have been operating within the delegate selection process of both major parties. Their goals are to raise arms control issues locally and to guarantee a strong antinuclear presence, on the inside, at this summer's conventions.

As a member of the Bucks County Alliance for Nuclear Disarmament, located north of Philadelphia, Zimmerman helped put together a bipartisan slate of delegates—named the United Slates — in Pennsylvania's eighth congressional district. Running in the state's Republican and Democratic primaries on April 10 on a platform that highlighted the freeze, Zimmerman and another United Slates candidate captured two of the four Republican delegate slots for the district. (All the Pennsylvania delegates to the Republican convention are uncommitted.) On the Democratic side the slate ran a close third behind Gary Hart and Walter Mondale, but failed to pick up any delegates.

Zimmerman hopes to join forces with other pro-freeze Republican delegates in Dallas. There will be at least a "handful" of such delegates, according to Jayne Hart, executive director of the Ripon Society, an organization of moderate Republicans and a member of Citizens Against Nuclear War (CAN). During a convention with little suspense, their effort to create some debate within the Republican party on arms control could well receive national media attention. "We will try to work through the party platform process," says Zimmerman, who criticizes the Republicans for decreasing citizen input on the platform by cancelling public hearings. "It's important to show the public the administration is not interested in popular opinion on military security."

Off to the conventions: Delegates Zimmerman, Scheckel, Stratton (clockwise)

Taking that for granted, antinuclear activists in many states have turned toward the Democrats. Organizers in Alaska and Washington, among other states, are pushing peace platforms or resolutions within the delegate caucuses. In Iowa, freeze planks—some calling for a quick freeze or a unilateral freeze—passed in 90 of 99 Democratic county caucuses, according to Tim Button of the Iowa Freeze Campaign.

Like activists in other states, those in Iowa are also trying to ensure that the delegates to the Democratic convention from their state are strong freeze supporters—no matter which candidate they support. In Wisconsin's April 7 primary, Jobs with Peace helped elect 24 of its members to local conventions that select the final delegates. But perhaps the most successful campaign of this type has been waged by the Minnesota Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.

Last year the Campaign identified freeze coordinators for each of the state's eight congressional districts. Then, using lists of freeze supporters, it found coordinators on the county and precinct levels. By the time of the March 20 precinct caucuses, the Freeze Campaign had coordinators in an estimated 3000 of the state's 4108 precincts. Of the 41,000 delegates elected to the next round of county and legislative district conventions, more than 60 percent had run as freeze supporters who either backed a candidate (e.g. a "Jackson/freeze" delegate) or were uncommitted. "Being a Mondale/freeze delegate," explains Brad Abelow, campaign manager for the Freeze Campaign, "says to Mondale that you support him but want him to better his positions in the areas of first-strike weapons, the quick freeze and no-first-use."

Like that of similar efforts in other states, the goal of the Minnesota Freeze Campaign is not only to influence the 1984 elections but to build its organization. To its ranks of active supporters it has added 10,000 names. And the Campaign's caucus drive won it much respect in the state. Abelow likes to point out that on the day following the precinct caucuses, the Freeze Campaign received calls from several members of Congress. "The freeze is the only issue that prevailed significantly throughout the state," notes an aide to Representative Martin Sabo. And Abelow adds, "This put us on the map as a political power."

If Minnesota freeze activists make it to the Democratic convention in San Francisco this July, they will join other freeze organizers, including five Connecticut Freeze Voter '84 activists who were elected as delegates for Hart and Mondale during the state's April 12 caucuses. In the Mondale caucus in the state's sixth congressional district, freeze supporters made up slightly more than a third of the 608 Democrats attending. By forming a coalition with the more than 200 United Auto Workers contingent, Connecticut Freeze Voter '84 was able to elect its president, Jessie Stratton, as a Mondale delegate. The four other Freeze Voter delegates elected were Hart supporters.

And next door in Massachusetts, several freeze activists, including Judith Scheckel, a Freeze Voter '84 organizer and a staffer at the Traprock Peace Cen-

ter, earned trips to the party convention. Scheckel's aim now is to press the Democrats to adopt a strong peace platform, and she backs the wide-ranging peace plank advocated by Senator Alan Cranston (*see* NUCLEAR TIMES, *April '84*). Massachusetts Freeze Voter '84 is lobbying the entire state delegation. "We want them to be talking about the peace platform before they get to the convention," says Scheckel.

And what will happen at the convention? In a year when a "Dis-elect Reagan" mood dominates the movement, there does not seem to be a confrontational spirit among delegates. "The real problem with being a freeze delegate committed to a candidate," says one such Mondale delegate, "is to try to push your candidate on the issues, such as the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles, but remain clearly committed to your candidate." Instead of preparing for a public clash with party leaders, delegates and those lobbying delegates say they hope to apply some pressure on the platform process and to join together at the convention to form a freeze/peace caucus. This caucus will probably not seek (or be able) to play a broker's role since many of its members will be pledged to a candidate. And some freeze delegates say that they do not anticipate pushing for a minority plank from the floor should the party platform fall short in their eyes. (Cranston recently told NUCLEAR TIMES, however, that a floor fight was not out of the question.)

The main purpose of the activist caucus will most likely be to increase the visibility of the freeze and antinuclear movement. "We want to send the message that the freeze and arms control are mainstream issues," says Suellen Lowry of the Delegate Education Project. To do so, Lowry says, the caucus will try to stage "dignified demonstrations" within the convention hall and sponsor other media events.

This project, cosponsored by the national Freeze Campaign and the CAN-affiliated Center for Education on Nuclear War, has been polling Democratic and Republican delegates, as they are chosen, to gauge their attitudes on nuclear and military issues. The project is looking for delegates who are strong freeze supporters, can serve as freeze whips in their state delegations and then come together at the convention.

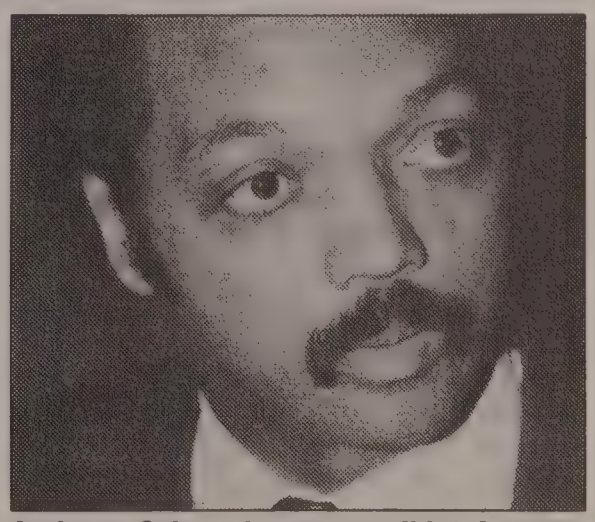
"It's not yet clear what the dynamics of the convention will be," says Brad Abelow. "But the freeze delegation can deliver a message—that the way to win in November is to use the freeze to unite the Democrats and to mobilize their constituency." **—David Corn**

But "practical" politics intrude

Jackson Draws Peace Support

Other presidential candidates have assistants for national security affairs. Jesse Jackson has a "Peace Desk." Jackson supporters in the antinuclear community will argue, right up to the Democratic National Convention, that he has by far the best positions on nuclear weapons issues. They note, for example, that Jackson is the only candidate to make a no-first-use pledge, to call for a cut in the military budget and to promise to build no new nuclear weapons. "No other candidate is addressing peace issues with such clarity and insistence," says the Reverend Paul Mayer of the Religious Task Force of Mobilization for Survival (MFS).

Why, then, has the Jackson candidacy failed to find overwhelming support in the antinuclear movement? Jon Saxton, who staffs Jackson's Peace Desk, says there are several reasons for this. The Jackson campaign, he admits, has concentrated its resources on organizing in the black community and has had some problems reaching out to the arms control community. Saxton says he has seen some reluctance on the part of many in the largely white peace movement to support black leadership, "not out of racism, but just because they're not comfortable with it yet." And he feels that the media has portrayed Jackson as a one-issue candidate. "Jackson has outlined his peace proposals over and over again in his speeches," Saxton says, "but these by and large haven't been reported in the press. Instead there's been a heavy concentration on the 'blackness' of the campaign or [Jackson supporter Louis] Farrakhan's statements—on anything but what Jackson is talking about."



Jackson: Only real peace candidate?

Another problem for the candidate is that some of those most attuned to his message—what could be called the "left" or "peace with justice" wing of the movement—are skeptical of electoral efforts of any kind. David McReynolds of the War Resisters League, while noting that the Jackson campaign "has shifted the whole debate in the direction it ought to go," warns about the "electoral fever that strikes every four years, the idea that you can elect someone and the day after the election he will change everything." When Mobilization for Survival debated strategy for 1984 at the organization's annual convention earlier this year, the results reflected the ambivalence some groups on the left feel. Three position papers emerged: one warned against any significant involvement in the electoral process, one favored supporting only candidates who were not in the Democratic or Republican parties, and one argued for the importance of the Jackson campaign.

But Saxton contends—and many others in the movement confirm—that the major problem Jackson has not overcome is practicality. "People don't want to support someone who has no chance of getting the nomination," says Howard Morland of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy in Washington, D.C. "People want to put their efforts into something that will pay off. They want to unseat Reagan and the only way they see to do that is to support Mondale or Hart."

But the Jackson campaign, despite these obstacles, has picked up considerable support. Many activists in such groups as Jobs with Peace, MFS, Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), SANE and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom support Jackson. Some have provided mailing lists and other resources to the campaign, and others are actively working for him. Individuals from the Jobs with Peace Network, in particular, have worked closely with campaign staffers, who have widely cited the group's proposed national and city budgets. "We have helped to formulate elements of Jackson's speeches on the military budget," says Seth Adler, coordinator of Jobs with Peace.

Although his supporters concede that Jackson will not win the Democratic nomination, his campaign has already exceeded expectations, argues the Reverend John Collins of CALC. One of the greatest values of the campaign, as Collins sees it, is that "people are working

PHOTO BY JULIA JONES

together across lines who haven't worked together in a long time . . . People always used to say, 'Why aren't there more blacks in the peace movement?' But here you have a candidate who is so far ahead in terms of peace issues that he is addressing many questions a number of people in the movement haven't even taken up." Among these are a strong stand against U.S. intervention abroad and firm proposals for redirecting military spending to social programs. A group of about 50 peace activists and religious leaders signed a statement declaring that Jackson's campaign offered "the clearest, most moral, most creative program of a major candidate for a just society in a peaceful world."

Where does the Jackson campaign—and his supporters in the peace movement—go from here? The Jackson campaign will hold a Rainbow Convention in Chicago in June to ready its demands for the Democratic convention—Jackson will probably also support Senator Alan Cranston's "peace plank"—and lay the basis for the rainbow coalition to continue beyond November. The campaign is also talking to groups who are planning educational and protest activities outside the convention hall in San Francisco.

And this fall? Jackson and most of his supporters in the peace movement say that they will urge voting for the Democratic candidate. Leslie Cagan of the national MFS office in New York, among others, has publically said that she will vote for Mondale if he is the candidate. Howard Morland feels that "the Democratic record on nuclear weapons is no better than the Republican record," but Michael Parenti of the Institute for Policy Studies believes that a Democratic president "might at least tone down the anti-Soviet furor and come up with an arms treaty that might prepare us for detente." Even the War Resisters League, which usually abstains from electoral politics, has urged its members to register and vote.

And beyond November? Tom DeLuca of MFS, who ran as a Jackson delegate in the New York primary, feels that the task of Jackson supporters is to continue to work on the grass-roots level to "build on the work" that's already been started. "The Jackson candidacy may go away," says Seth Adler, "but the issues that it raised aren't going to." As an example, Adler cited cutting the military budget and redirecting funds to human needs as an issue Jobs with Peace would continue to press. "The demands of the peace movement," Adler says, "and the demands of the rainbow coalition will still be there after the election." **—John Trinkl**

AuCoin targeted by GOP

PACs Hit The Oregon Trail

Twenty-nine states have more voters, but none will receive more attention from the antinuclear community this summer and fall than Oregon. Reelection contests will be going on in the state's five congressional districts and three of them have been targeted by arms control PACs as key races to watch—and to influence.

The PACs will back Democratic candidates running against two pro-buildup incumbents, dubbed by some as "the Smith Brothers": Denny Smith and Robert Smith (actually unrelated). And they will strongly support, as among their top priorities, Representative Les AuCoin, a leading freeze advocate and MX opponent, who faces a repeat this year of the tough 1982 election battle against Republican challenger Bill Moshofsky.

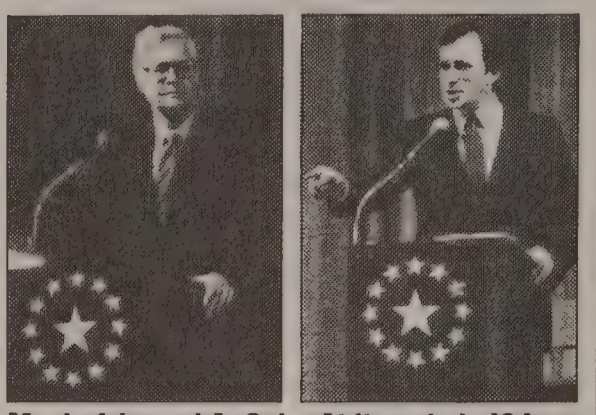
AuCoin's campaign manager Kevin Smith says the five-term representative hopes to raise about $450,000 for this year's campaign, compared to Moshofsky's expected war chest of around $800,000. And Smith adds that the 1984 campaign could be even more difficult to win than the bitter 1982 race in which AuCoin pulled out a victory with 54 percent of the vote. "Moshofsky has been targeted [for aid] by the national Republican Congressional Committee," says Smith. "He's number one or two on their list."

AuCoin's effort is also drawing interest from outside Oregon. Dr. Helen Caldicott recently spoke at a Portland fundraiser for AuCoin. Freeze Voter '84 and SANE PAC have put the AuCoin race near the top of their electoral agenda.

"We see the AuCoin contest as a kind of triple crown race," says John Isaacs of the Council for a Livable World, whose PeacePAC affiliate has contributed $2000 to the candidate. "He's one of those unusual people who not only takes the right positions, but he's a leader in the House *and* he's got a tough race to run." (NUCLEAR TIMES can not, and does not, endorse any congressional candidates.)

In March, SANE sent staffer Jim Buchanan to Portland, where he now works as the group's West Coast regional canvass director. With nine paid staffers, Buchanan conducts nightly canvasses in Portland to drum up SANE members and identify freeze supporters. When SANE's volunteer ranks swell with college students during the summer Buchanan expects to reach up to 1500 residents a night. "We may not have millions of dollars," says Buchanan, "but we're banking on our ability to get the volunteers out, who will ultimately get people to the voting box."

The national office of Freeze Voter '84 will be sending a staff person to Portland soon, says Chip Reynolds, the group's field director. But the logistics of this race, and others, are touchy for most antinuclear PACs. Once they begin to run what are called "coordinated" campaigns—ones where they are working in



Moshofsky and AuCoin: At it again in '84

tandem with the candidate and his staff, sharing information and strategies—they are legally allowed to contribute only $5000 to the race. Currently SANE and Freeze Voter are working independently of AuCoin, and while that means there is no limit on what they may spend, redundancy could occur. To sidestep that possibility, the PACs are for the moment concentrating on recruiting members and volunteers, and identifying freeze supporters. "It's better not to identify AuCoin with the freeze at this stage of the game," says Reynolds, "since we could well inflame the opposition and rouse them to action." But by identifying sympathizers now, PACs will know whom to go back to when they begin coordinated campaigns with AuCoin, probably late in the summer.

Locally, Charlotte Coffey, who runs the newly formed Oregon Freeze Voter '84 PAC (independent of the national organization), predicts that a major fundraiser in late June will raise money for AuCoin and other freeze candidates throughout the state. And within AuCoin's district, which includes affluent Portland suburbs as well as poor rural communities, freeze advocates are mobilizing behind the incumbent. They say, though, that most who volunteer time or money will do so as individuals, because most freeze and peace organizations—like the Washington County Peace-

PHOTOS BY DAVID OWENS/TIMES PUBLICATIONS

makers (based in AuCoin's home town, Forest Grove) and the Greater Portland Nuclear Freeze Coalition—are legally prohibited from endorsing candidates.

It's not hard to see why AuCoin attracts such solid allegiances from the freeze movement. The 41-year-old representative was a floor leader when the nuclear freeze resolution passed in the House last year. And as a member of the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, he is in a prime position to work on reforming the military budget. AuCoin opposes President Reagan's proposed build-down plan, and the "Star Wars" proposal for space armament. He is also an outspoken MX opponent.

But AuCoin is careful not to stray too far from the political center on defense issues. (His district had been held by Republicans for 82 years before he won his seat in 1974.) A draft position paper on peace issues provided to NUCLEAR TIMES by Kevin Smith notes that AuCoin supports "improved conventional readiness" and backs "Trident I and air-launched strategic cruise missiles that deter nuclear attack."

Moshofsky, a timber industry executive turned lobbyist, told NUCLEAR TIMES that he supports the freeze *and* the build-down plan, and opposes the MX as "too expensive."

Economic issues remain the top concern in AuCoin's congressional district because of continuing high unemployment, according to Kevin Smith, but AuCoin is eagerly courting freeze votes. For one week in late April, for example, he toured schools, churches and civil service organizations in Portland, focusing exclusively on peace issues.

The challenges facing AuCoin and antinuclear groups this year include not only well-heeled challengers, but local peace activists who have become disillusioned with the political process. Many share activist Norman Soloman's view that while AuCoin has, for the most part, "voted right," priority should be given to tracking and protesting the white train that carries nuclear warheads through Portland on its way to Bangor, Washington.

But if the 1982 AuCoin-Moshofsky campaign is an indicator, this year's race is likely to generate plenty of ferment of its own in Oregon's first congressional district, and the stakes are high for the antinuclear movement. "This will be a classic race that will show if the peace movement can keep its man in office," says SANE's Buchanan. "It's a real test of our strength." **—Gordon Oliver**

Gordon Oliver is a freelance writer in Portland.

Fund-raising for freeze

Minnesota Canvass Pays Off

One year ago the Minnesota Freeze Campaign was little more than an idea. It had no budget, no real organization, and the vast majority of Minnesotans had never heard of it.

Today, it has organizers in all but one congressional district, a $320,000 budget, nine paid staffers (including six full-time), resounding success in passing freeze resolutions and winning freeze delegates to the Democratic convention in the state's caucuses (*see p. 15*), and a list of 30,000 people across the state who support the freeze. In this election year it has, in short, become a political force in Minnesota. How did this happen?

Many factors account for the success, but perhaps the key to the whole program is paid canvassing. "It's the backbone of our organization," says Brad Abelow, who directs the Freeze Campaign's main office in St. Paul. "I know a lot of people don't like to think about paying canvassers, but believe me, it's essential."

Canvasser Lisa Fendrich (r) in the field

The canvassers have raised over $130,000 for the Freeze Campaign in the past year. Impressed by these results, the state's Freeze Voter '84 PAC, which shares an office with the Freeze Campaign, will start its own paid canvassing drive around June 1, based on the Campaign's program, and hopes to raise $100,000 by November. Freeze Voter will probably hire the Freeze Campaign's canvass director, Holly Dalman, and canvassers.

Minnesota freeze activists didn't invent the paid canvassing idea; they borrowed it from several Minnesota citizens' organizations that have been employing canvassers for years with impressive results (gross annual revenues of $200,000 to $400,000 a year). Mike Casper, executive director of the Minnesota Freeze, says peace groups have mounted similar efforts successfully in Northern California and Wisconsin, among other places, and adds: "It's exportable all over. You've got to be crazy not to do it."

Eight paid canvassers have been going door-to-door for the Freeze Campaign lately in the Twin Cities; this summer there may be 20 to 25 canvassing for Freeze Voter. The ground rules: canvassers go out from 3:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m. every weekday. Each is paid between $30 to $40 a day and their daily fund-raising quota is $70. "Some spend 10 minutes talking to one person and ask for $50," Abelow explains, "others talk to 10 people in that time and ask for $10 each."

While the freeze organizations have other sources of income—individual donors, foundations, freeze walks, and other events—the paid canvass makes it possible to "put our financial house in

Electoral Training

There are about 40 groups sponsoring nonpartisan electoral training workshops, according to the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign and the Arms Control Education Project, which produce a calendar of upcoming sessions every month. They list the following workshops during the next few months:

ALABAMA: Birmingham—NWEF, June 16.
DELAWARE: Wilmington—NWEF, June 9.
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: RNC, June 3-9, 10-16.
MISSOURI: St. Louis—ISJ, May 27-June 1.
NEW JERSEY: Andover—WRL, July 21-30.
PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia—RNC, June 25-July 1. Pittsburgh—CLF, July 27-29.
TEXAS: Ft. Worth—NWEF, June 23.

CONTACTS

CLF: Citizens' Leadership Foundation, Janet Kelsey (312) 975-3670.
FEC: Federal Election Commission, Gwen Hoffman (202) 523-4183.
ISJ: Institute for Social Justice, Terry Thompson (214) 823-4580.
NWEF: National Women's Education Fund, Lynn Olson (202) 462-8606.
NETWORK: Jill Craig (202) 526-4070.
RNC: Republican National Committee, Robert Meyne (212) 863-8518.
WRL: War Resisters League, David McReynolds (212) 228-0450.

PHOTO COURTESY OF MINNESOTA FREEZE CAMPAIGN

order," Abelow says. Equally as important as this regular flow of money, however, is constant outreach. "We reach several hundred new people every night," he explains, "and it forces us to go beyond the liberal political community and out into places we normally wouldn't go, such as the suburbs. And it's the best way to identify our supporters."

Canvassers attend a daily briefing session at freeze headquarters. Canvass directors sometimes bring in speakers, such as a psychologist, or the first American doctor to enter Hiroshima after the atomic bombing, or a district organizer who describes what it's like to work for the freeze in a rural area. There's also an intensive two-week training program for canvassers, some of whom later become trainers themselves.

"They have to be committed to the issue because it's the hardest job in this entire movement, bar none," Abelow says. "It's very hard to go out night after night, five nights a week, knocking on people's doors. By far the majority won't give you anything and your worst fears are confirmed out there, but so are your highest expectations." Freeze activists also run a volunteer canvass, but Abelow considers this activity too important for reliance on volunteers.

What will Freeze Voter do with the money raised? Organizers will spend a good deal of the summer working the state fair and country fairs and small town parades, registering voters, expanding their lists of supporters and keeping them apprised of candidates' positions on nuclear issues. They may endorse a candidate in the U.S. Senate race against Republican Rudy Boschwitz, oppose Representative Arlan Strangeland, and support incumbents Tim Penny and Gerry Sikorski. **—Karen Branan**

Corps Kick Off

Freeze Voter '84 is looking for a few good men and women to join its new Freeze Corps. What it wants are 500 volunteers who will relocate to one of 10 targeted states and work for one month or more on a targeted, "hot" race, according to Katherine Magraw of Freeze Voter '84.

The program offers each volunteer room and board. "We want to appeal to practical idealists who want political experience and somewhat of an adventure," says Magraw. Freeze Corps is aiming its pitch primarily at students. Freeze Voter '84 has chosen only five of the 10 targeted states—Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania.

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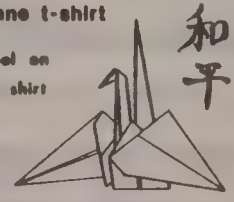

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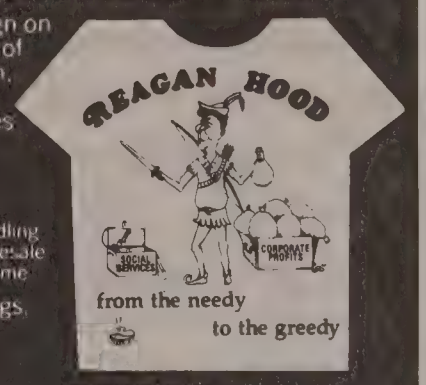

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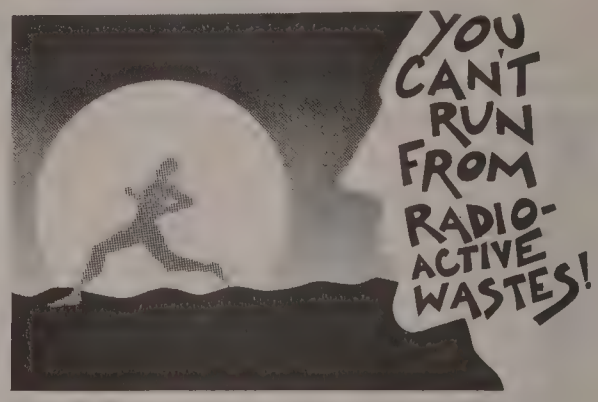

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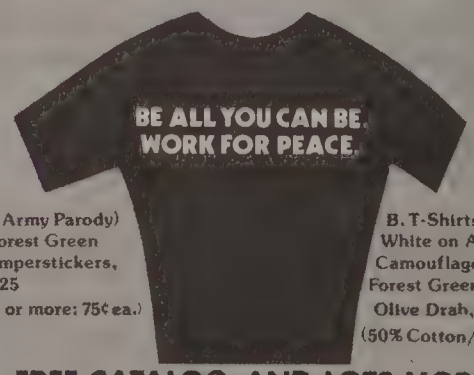

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Calendar

A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast
Please submit July events by May 21

NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

ATOMIC VETERANS TOUR

The International Alliance of Atomic Veterans tour, covering such cities as Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Boston, Atlanta, Denver, and New York, will culminate in a **Nevada Test Site Memorial Day Service** on May 28. For a complete itinerary, *contact*: Eric Fersht, Greenpeace USA, 2007 R St NW, Washington, DC 20009 (212) 462-1177.

CHILDREN'S ACTION

CAN-DO (Children Acting for Nuclear Disarmament) is sponsoring a three-day antinuclear action in Washington, DC. Activities will include a **June 10** rally at the Pentagon with the Children's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament; a Walk-In from Arlington Cemetery to the Washington Monument for a second rally on **June 11**; and a lobbying of congresspersons on **June 12**. For more information, *contact*: CAN-DO, c/o Catherine Lasocki, 1614 Morningside Dr, Iowa City, IA 52240 (319) 354-0526.

PEACE PENTACOST/WHITE TRAIN

Catholic bishops across the country have issued a call for prayer vigils on **June 10** along the route of the white train that carries nuclear warheads from Texas to military installations in Washington and South Carolina. *Contact*: The Peace Pentacost National Clearinghouse, PO Box 29272, Washington, DC 20017 (212) 636-3637.

TELEVISION LISTINGS

Stopping History, a documentary juxtaposing the formation and civil disobedience activity of a Livermore Action affinity group with interviews of people who are not actively protesting the arms race, will be broadcast on most PBS stations on Friday, **May 18,** with June air dates in some locations. Check local listings for time and date. For more information, contact: Haney Armstrong, Adair Films, 2051 Third St, San Francisco, CA 94107 (415) 621-6500.

Pursuit Of Happiness, a documentary focusing on antinuclear activist and Plowshares 8 defendant Molly Rush, will be broadcast nationally on PBS stations on Saturday, **June 30**. The film, which recently won the Gold Plaque Award for best video documentary at the Chicago International Film Festival, examines the philosophical notion of the "pursuit of happiness" through the eyes of Rush, her family, the warden of the prison where she is sent, and two inmates. Check local listings for exact time and date. For more information, *contact*: Global Village, 454 Broome St, New York, NY 10013 (212) 966-7526.

Eight Minutes to Midnight: A Portrait of Dr. Helen Caldicott will be broadcast nationally on PBS stations on Friday, **July 13**. Check local listings for exact time and date. For more information, *contact*: Mary Benjamin, Caldicott Project, 36 Antrim St, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 547-4483.

MAY 20

IDAHO

• **Boise** Rally/benefit for the Snake River Alliance, featuring singers Carole King and Rosalie Sorrels and political figures; Boise High School auditorium. *Contact*: Deborah Haynes, Snake River Alliance (208) 344-9161.

MARYLAND

• **Baltimore** Maryland Freeze Voter '84 Walkathon, with rally and entertainment; Inner Harbor. *Contact*: Maryland Freeze Voter '84, 301 E 25 St, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301) 467-6501.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Community Workshop, "Swords into Plowshares: Strategies for Achieving Peace," with Randall Forsberg, panel discussions, and more; New York University Law School, Vanderbilt Hall. *Contact*: The office of Rep Ted Weiss, 131 Waverly Pl, New York, NY 10011 (212) 620-3310.

• **New York** "A Jewish Nuclear Disarmament Workshop," to educate and organize Jewish people committed to peace; Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion. *Contact*: Sam Weintraub (212) 662-4578.

MAY 21

NEW YORK

• **New York** Conference, "Education in the Nuclear Age," The Insights of Four Master Teachers, with Roberta Snow, Sam Brian, Herbert Mack and Ann Cook; The Museum of Broadcasting. *Contact*: The Editors' Organizing Committee (212) 621-9133.

MAY 25

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** A rally for Peace and Justice will be held during Henry Kissinger's visit to Minneapolis. *Contact*: Ginger Ehrman-Dahlin, The Kissinger Week Coalition, 2401 University Av, St Paul, MN 55114 (612) 292-1858.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Performance of "No More Hiroshimas—A Lone Star Shining," a dance/drama produced by survivors of Hiroshima; Hunter College Playhouse, through May 27. *Contact*: The Concert Arts Society (212) 581-3644.

MAY 26

CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** Third Annual National War Tax Resistance Conference featuring strategy sessions with tax resistance organizers and counselors from across the country, through May 27. *Contact*: The National War Tax Resistance Committee, PO Box 2236, East Patchogue, NY 11722 (516) 654-8227.

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Philadelphia** National Pilgrimage to Reverse the Arms Race begins; the 100-mile walk to Washington, DC, will culminate in a mass rally at the Capitol Building on **June 3**. *Contact*: The National Pilgrimage to Reverse the Arms Race, Brandeis University, Waltham, MA 02254 (617) 647-2177.

VIRGINIA

• **Leesburg** Blue Ridge Peace Pilgrimage, a symbolic evacuation to educate the Loudon County community about civil defense, with films, workshops, speakers, music and more, culminating in a Memorial Day peace walk past the gates of Mount Weather, an underground command bunker for federal officials; through May 28. *Contact*: Bob Teague, The Nuclear Freeze Resource Center, 2111 Florida Av NW, Washington, DC 20008 (202) 332-3333.

MAY 28

NEW YORK

• **Rome/Utica Area** A week of actions focusing on the Griffiss Air Force Base will include a Memorial Day peace picnic, door-to-door canvassing, community forums, cultural events, prayer vigils, leafletting, and more. *Contact*: Andy Mager, 100 Trinity Pl, Syracuse, NY 13210 (315) 472-7010.

WISCONSIN

• **Clam Lake** Opening of the "Women's Peace Presence to Stop Project ELF." *Contact*: Women's Peace Presence, 731 State St, Madison, WI 53703 (608) 257-7562.

JUNE 1

CALIFORNIA

• **Orange** Talk, "Creative Conflict Resolution," with Gene Sharp, director of Program on Nonviolent Sanctions at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs; Loyola Marymount Extension, Campus Auditorium. *Contact*: Karen Litfin, Fate of the Earth, Immaculate Heart College Center, 10951 W Pico Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90064 (213) 470-2293.

NORTH CAROLINA

• **Salter Path** 1984 National Convention of Prolifers for Survival (PfS), through June 3. *Contact*: PfS, PO Box 3316, Chapel Hill, NC 27515 (919) 942-7615.

JUNE 2

MINNESOTA

• **St Paul** Deadly Connections Conference on the links between intervention and the nuclear arms race, with Michael Klare of the Institute for Policy Studies, Diana Johnstone, international editor for *In These Times*, and others; St. Paul Central High School auditorium. *Contact*: Marianne Hamilton, Women Against Military Madness, 3255 Hennepin Av, Minneapolis, MN 55408 (612) 827-5364.

NEW JERSEY

• **Camden** "Link Hands for Jobs, Peace and Freedom," between the RCA Factory in Camden and Philadelphia's Federal Building. *Contact*: (Pennsylvania) Bruce Birchard (215) 241-7230 or (New Jersey) Sharon Sidorick (609) 482-1090.

JUNE 4

ILLINOIS

• **Rock Island** "Project Disarm," a regional direct action to shut down the Rock Island Arsenal; all midwest anti-war groups are invited to participate. *Contact*: Disarm Now Action Group, 407 S Dearborn No 370, Chicago, IL 60605 (312) 427-2533.

JUNE 9

MONTANA

• **Conrad** Opening of the Silence One Silo Peace Camp at missile silo Romeo 29. *Contact*: Silence One Silo, PO Box 9203, Missoula, MT 59807 (406) 549-9449.

JUNE 12

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Third Women's Leadership Conference, "The Economics of National Security," with Randall Forsberg, Alice Tepper-Marlin, Sen Dale Bumpers, and others, featuring workshops, debates and briefings; George Washington University, through June 14. *Contact*: The Committee for National Security, 2000 P St NW, Ste 515, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 833-3140.

JUNE 15

CALIFORNIIA

• **Santa Barbara** Regional Conference of the War Resisters League (WRL), "Moving from Protest to Resistance: Nonviolence in 1984," with workshops, discussions, and more, through June 17. *Contact*: WRL/West, 85 Carl St, San Francisco, CA 94117 (415) 731-1220.

JUNE 16

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Father's Day March will be followed by a talk on "A Male Perspective of Violence." *Contact*: Neil Tift, Clergy and Laity Concerned, 122 W Franklin Av, Minneapolis, MN 55404 (612) 871-8033.

JUNE 22

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Boston** Conference, "Economic Conversion: Transforming the Economy for Jobs, Peace and Justice," with Dave McFadden, Gordon Adams, and other speakers from here and abroad; Boston College, through June 24. *Contact*: International Economic Conversion Conference, 2161 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02140 (617) 661-7108.

JUNE 23

WISCONSIN

• **Milwaukee** National Meeting of Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR); Marquette University. *Contact*: Joseph O'Malley, 2571 N Oakland St, Milwaukee, WI 53211 (414) 224-7120 (days) or (414) 964-8083.

JUNE 24

TEXAS

• **Houston** Interfaith Nuclear Arms Symposium, with workshops on ethics, economics, parity/superiority strategies, and U.S.-Soviet negotiations. *Contact*: Rabbi Howard Laibson, Congregation Emanu El, 1500 Sunset Blvd, Houston, TX 77005 (713) 529-5771.

Compiled by Renata Rizzo

Thanks to everyone who mailed in events.

BY ANN MARIE CUNNINGHAM

Resources

NEW BOOKS

The Economic Consequences of a Nuclear Freeze, by William Hartung *et al.* The economic benefits of weapons programs are big reasons for their continuing popularity. Hartung reports that if new programs are eliminated by a freeze, the results will be $98 billion in federal budget savings just in the next five years; a net increase in overall employment, despite initial layoffs of defense workers; and a $13-$21 billion cut in the deficit each year. This book argues that "the economic opportunities offered by a nuclear freeze far outweigh its costs." We've heard this before, but this is a cogent presentation of the facts and figures involved in the first basic step towards a peacetime economy. ($11.95 paper, 20 percent off five or more orders, Council on Economic Priorities, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.)

Beyond the Hotline: Controlling a Nuclear Crisis. A Report to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, by William Langer Ury and Richard Smoke. The authors are part of the Nuclear Negotiation Project, a group of scholars at Harvard Law School with varied backgrounds who attempt to improve the theory and practice of negotiation. For this report the group began by looking at past near-catastrophes, and at how a future crisis might evolve. They then outline six specific steps towards an international "crisis control system," including joint U.S.-Soviet crisis control centers in both Washington, D.C., and Moscow. A thoughtful, clearly written proposal to defuse "war games." ($10 paperback from Nuclear Negotiation Project, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA 02138.)

Not for Love, by Hila Colman. In a classic teen novel plot, 16-year-old Jill falls for Toby, even though her parents disapprove. The twist is that he turns out to be an antinuclear (power) activist. A good intelligent summer read that affirms political involvement. ($9.50 hardcover, William Morrow Junior Books.)

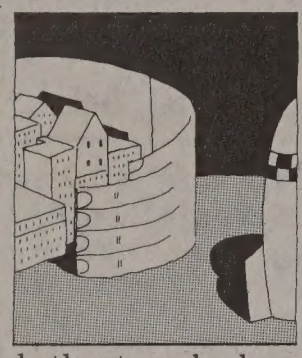
PARENTING

Talking to Children About Nuclear War, by William Van Ornum and Mary Wicker Van Ornum ($7.95 paper, Crossroad/Continuum). A clinical psychologist and a journalist describe how children will manifest their fears of nuclear annihilation, and urge parents to take responsibility for facing up to their children. Includes many suggestions—some contradictory—based on parents' and psychologists' experiences with their kids.

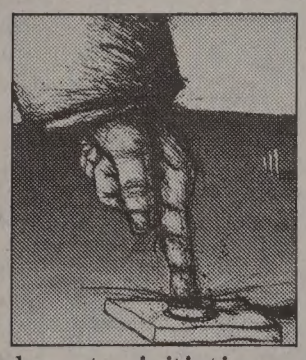
Watermelons Not War! A Support Book for Parenting in the Nuclear Age, by Kate Cloud and the Nuclear Education Project. Afterword by Dr. Helen Caldicott. Besides an excellent bibliography and resource list, five Boston-area mothers have assembled their own answers to questions from children such as "Why do people fight?" "What are we going to do if there is a war?" and "The United States is the best, isn't it?" ($9.95 paper, New Society Publishers, 4722 Baltimore Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19143. 215-726-6543.)

DIRECTORIES & GUIDES

Toward a Nuclear Free Future: A Guide to Organizing a Local Nuclear Free Zone Campaign. Illustrated by well known cartoonists Bill Plympton and Len Munnik, the text tells how to plan and organize your campaign, what kind of ban to fight for (binding referendum, zoning ordinance, nonbinding city council resolution), how to handle the media, and whether to embark on broader fronts (linking your campaign to U.S. foreign policy or corporate divestment). ($5 each, $2.50 each for 10 or more from Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway, Room 2109, New York, NY 10003, 212-533-0008.)



Up in Arms: A Common Cause Guide to Understanding Nuclear Arms Policy, by Sandra Sedacca, forward by Archibald Cox. In time for the elections, Common Cause has assembled a basic primer on nuclear arms issues and how to organize around them from the grass roots up. In the Common Cause tradition, the guide emphasizes public pressure on political leaders as the key to initiating and enforcing arms negotiations. ($3.50 paperback from Common Cause Guides, Issue Mail Box 70, 2030 M Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036.)



American Peace Directory 1984, edited by Melinda Fine and Peter Steven (Ballinger, paper). In her forward, freeze author Randall Forsberg tells how in 1976 she conceived of a directory with about 10 national organizations. The finished product, eight years later, lists and describes over 1350 groups. Entries are brief and sectioned into national groups, local groups, local chapters, educational programs and by zip code. Four indexes maximize the directory's usefulness. Despite a few omissions, a valuable resource. ($12.95 plus postage, Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, 2001 Beacon Street, Brookline, MA 02146.)

FILMS

The World According to Weisskopf, produced by Brian Kaufman (1 hour, color video). A vivid portrait of Victor Weisskopf, now professor emeritus of physics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who worked with Niels Bohr, and other giants of the early days of quantum mechanics, to lay the groundwork for nuclear physics. He was recruited for the Manhattan Project by J. Robert Oppenheimer, but since the end of World War II he has promoted disarmament. ($85 for three-day rental, $200 purchase, plus handling and shipping from Time-Life Video Distribution Center, 100 Eisenhower Drive, Paramus, NJ 17652, 201-843-4545.)

The First Fifty Years: Reflections on U.S.-Soviet Relations, produced by Bill Jersey/Quest Productions (1 hour, color video). Harrison Salisbury, former Moscow correspondent for *The New York Times*, narrates the dramatic and often moving history of our uneasy coexistence with the Soviet Union. Two high points are Salisbury's interview with Richard Nixon, who reminisces about detente negotiations with Brezhnev, and former Soviet ambassador George Kennan's memories of the first American mission in Moscow. The film, which recently premiered on PBS, concludes with the potent symbolism of the 1975 Apollo-Soyuz space missions' hookup: an astronaut and a cosmonaut shake hands gleefully, light years removed from the belligerence that characterizes current U.S.-Soviet relations. (For more information, contact Quest Productions, 4560 Horton Street, Emeryville, CA 94608, 415-655-1317.)

SPECIAL MENTION

Arming the Heavens: The Hidden Military Agenda for Space, 1945-1995, by Jack Manno ($7.95 paper, Dodd, Mead). In this well-written and densely researched account, Manno recounts how the race for space, ever since Wernher von Braun's early rocket research in Germany, has been an integral part of the arms race. He describes the veiled and not-so-veiled military motives behind research on manned space planes and space stations, as well as the development of space weaponry and command and control systems—right up through Reagan and Edward Teller's plan for a space-based missile defense system. Manno concludes by summarizing current proposals for space disarmament. He provides a helpful annotated bibliography and guide to further reading.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY (TOP) STEVEN GUARNACCIA AND (BOTTOM) JAMES YANG

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Hal Holbrook narrates this probing documentary about concerned citizens successfully organizing at the local level to clean up some of the 17,000 toxic chemical dumps which have littered the countryside. Specific ideas are presented from the different perspectives of government, industry, and community. The film cuts across all boundaries, making it useful for everyone.
35 minutes Color 1984
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If You Love This Planet

Academy Award 1982
Best Documentary Short

In a campus talk, Dr. Helen Caldicott, noted author and pediatrician, clearly emphasizes the perils of nuclear war and reveals a frightening progression of events which would follow a nuclear attack.
National Film Board of Canada
26 minutes Color 1982
$495/45

The Life & Times of Rosie the Riveter

In this valuable history of working women, five former "Rosies," movingly recall their experiences during World War II when women gained entry into major industrial plants for the first time. Their testimony is interwoven with rare archival recruiting films, posters and music of the period.
"The best film on working women I have seen." Molly Haskell, *MS Magazine.*
65 minutes Color 1980
$850/85 Video $595

Wild Goose Jack

This inspiring biographical film focuses on famed ornithologist and naturalist Jack Miner, known as "The Father of Conservation." With actual footage of Jack dating from 1915, the film recounts the remarkable career of this visionary man and the events which shaped his life and philosophy.
" ... a finely tuned look at a pioneer conservationist ... " Jim Bawden, *Toronto Star*
57 minutes Color 1983
$895/100 Video $250

SL-1

The Story of America's First Fatal Nuclear Accident

SL-1 uses recently declassified government film footage to recreate the true story of America's first nuclear accident which took place over 20 years ago. Previously repressed government evidence indicates that perhaps the disaster was caused by the suicidal impulse of an individual technician.
"A powerful and poignant blend of journalism, SL-1 is compelling viewing." *Variety*
60 minutes Color & BW 1984
$800/100

Eight Minutes to Midnight

A Portrait of Dr. Helen Caldicott
Academy Award Nomination 1981
60 minutes Color 1981
$800/100 Video $150

The Freeze

An Overview of the Arms Race
25 minutes Color 1983
$250/45 Video $100

No Place to Hide

Growing Up in the Shadow of the Bomb
Narrated by Martin Sheen
29 minutes Color & BW 1982
$495/45 Video $150

Vietnam Requiem

Five Vietnam Veterans' Personal Stories
Emmy Award
58 Minutes Color 1983
$895/100 Video $250

Direct Cinema/Home Video**

Atomic Cafe

Archives Project 1982
BETA and VHS $54.95

Dr. Strangelove- or, How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb

Columbia Pictures 1964
BETA and VHS $49.95

Wasn't That a Time- The Weavers

UA Classics/Films Inc. 1982
BETA and VHS $49.95

*These films and video tapes are exclusively available from Direct Cinema Limited for rental, purchase, or preview. The prices listed are for Purchase/Rental in 16mm. Video tapes are not available for preview or rental.

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